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662

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

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472

An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

228
435

Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tangp, kayackagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or parao. There were no paraos in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors. 501

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.[71] (See Plate LVII.)[1] 396 438 501

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins, 101

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[71] I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1 [See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analyst]

501

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PLATE LVII

• FISHING BOATS •

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines Central Bisayan OA14

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437 396 472 675

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered.

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

396 501 483

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

trimmed. Sometimes the wood cracks. To fill cracks, the dried sap of the bolitik tree is pounded, winnowed until very fine, and then mixed with kerosene. When this mixture dries it is hard and waterproof. 396

Smaller barotos are carried by hand to the Tanjay River and paddled down to the poblacion. Large boats are pulled to the river by carabaos. Some individuals conduct another pandita when the boat is launched; they kill a pig and offer food to the spirits. They mark a charcoal cross on the boat's bottom "so it will be easier to pull to the river and will not be damaged." A buyer may come to Tanjay poblacion to receive his boat, or the boat may be taken to the purchaser; this depends on the original contract. Larger boats are finished in Tanjay, and the mast, strakes, and motor mountings are added. Boats are made in Mangoto for owners who live in Panay, Cebu and Siquijor. 438 483

Types of Boats in Siaton

Bancas may be classified into three groups according to their length: the small class averages from 18 to 30 feet; medium class, from 30 to 35 feet; and the large class 35 feet or more. Names, however, are usually given according to their use. The bokaran is used mainly to net fish inside the bonsod. Bokarans do not have the outrigger (katig); this makes them easier to handle inside a fish corral. For the same reason bokarans are usually used to retrieve bobos although the panahiran also is so 501

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employed. When a bokaran is used to inspect the bobos it may be called a kaliwitan. The bokaran has a flatter bottom, is wider, and draws less water; this renders an outrigger unnecessary. Six men can handle a bokaran.

The outrigger is made from bamboo lashed with rattan. There is no special manner of lashing. For barotos the "floats" are usually curved like a chair rocker; the ends are elevated slightly and do not "plow the water."

Panahirans are wider than the bokaran and may be longer. This boat is used mostly for taking large fish nets to sea. Six men row a panahiran, one guides the boat, and two manage the net.

There are various types of barotos. The begiw, sometimes called lopak-an, is from 16 to 18 feet long and three handspans high. Normally only one man paddles this type of baroto that is the most frequently occurring boat in Siaton. The kabuangan, another type of baroto, is shorter than the begiw and two handspans high. This type of baroto was not seen in Siaton. The kayakagan, some times called looran, about 20 to 22 feet long, is capable of carrying two or three persons. As the name implies, it is used to put out the kayakag nets to catch the Banasi and Balo. The solongan ("to fish at night") baroto has devices for holding lanterns on either side of the boat. The tango is a baroto in which the strakes are made of sawali (woven pieces of thin bamboo) to make it lighter and faster. The tango generally is used in tuna fishing where speed and maneuverability are desirable.

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (borsay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No